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**SPECIAL POLITICAL COMMITTEE, 471st  
MEETING**



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*Chairman:* Mr. Carlet R. AUGUSTE (Haiti).

AGENDA ITEM 36

The policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (continued):

- (a) Reports of the Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (A/5692, A/5707, A/5825 and Add.1, A/5932, A/5957);
- (b) Reports of the Secretary-General (A/5850 and Add.1, A/6025 and Add.1)

1. Mr. HOVEYDA (Iran), recalling the statement made by the representative of Tunisia at the previous meeting, said that he too regretted the absence of a representative of the Republic of South Africa, particularly as his own statement was concerned with that country's policies. However, it was understandable that the South African representative should prefer to be absent. In approaching the subject under discussion, it was difficult not to feel, in addition to anger and indignation, a certain despondency after fourteen years of fruitless effort to solve the problem. The question of South Africa's policies had first been taken up at the seventh session of the General Assembly, and since then delegates had repeated the same protests over and over again. Upon reflection, however, it was perhaps both necessary and useful to go into the question in detail once more. He wished to pay a tribute to the Chairman and Rapporteur of the Special Committee on the Policies of apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa and to the representatives who had already addressed the Committee. It was the Committee's duty to respond to the cry for help arising from the oppressed people of South Africa.

2. The reports submitted to the Committee gave a severe but fair picture of the present situation. They showed clearly that the Government of South Africa was not only continuing its racial policies, but was systematically converting apartheid into an instrument of moral genocide, so to speak. The severity of the report of the Special Committee (A/5957) was fully justified by the events. At a time of increasing international solidarity, a small minority was turning its back on progress and looking to the past. At a time

when science had condemned racism in all its forms and fresh knowledge was replacing outmoded beliefs, a small group of men shamelessly proclaimed its superiority and set about reducing a multitude of their fellow men to slavery, on the sole basis of colour. At a time when colonialism was disappearing and nations all over the world were acceding to self-determination, a handful of men were applying colonialist principles within national boundaries. If the Rapporteur's tone had been heated, it was not for polemical purposes, but because he spoke the truth, and the truth was so wounding that the Government of the Republic of South Africa preferred to isolate itself from the international community rather than hear it. The statements of South African spokesmen, cited by the Rapporteur, had a paranoiac quality, which reflected the closed world in which they lived. A Johannesburg newspaper spoke of the "liberal aspects" of apartheid, a system that prescribed discrimination in housing, sport and leisure, even in laundries. Statements made by the Prime Minister himself showed that South Africa was living through a period of insanity. And nowadays insanity was contagious, as events in Rhodesia had shown. The conditioning of the minds of the white peoples of South Africa had reached the stage where they had lost all sense of their own self-interest and were even denying the instinct of self-preservation. Their actions in an enlightened Africa could only lead to the total destruction of the white minority whose interests the Government of South Africa claimed to defend.

3. It could be argued that people who wished to live in darkness should be allowed to do so. That might be permissible if their actions were limited to themselves. But the South African régime was dragging millions of innocent persons with it towards collective suicide. Its view of history was not only immoral but unrealistic. Its followers stood condemned by their anachronistic views and their inability to adapt them to the changing conditions of history. Passages cited in the report recalled the racist doctrines that Hitler had attempted to put into practice. It was to prevent a recurrence of such events that the General Assembly reconsidered the problem at every session. At a time when the United Nations was celebrating its twentieth anniversary, the Committee should try to review its past efforts, evaluate the present and look towards the future.

4. The report of the Special Committee led to one conclusion only: the situation was deteriorating. The Government of the Republic of South Africa had carried its policies to the most extreme limits. New and arbitrary laws had been passed, repression had increased and acts of violence multiplied. The actions of the South African Government revealed its contempt

for world opinion, for the United Nations, and for the most elementary human rights. The absurd theory of "separate development" could more properly be called a policy of deliberately keeping great masses of human beings in a state of under-development.

5. The second part of the report described the worsening situation in the Republic of South Africa. It showed the extreme patience of the non-white population and described how the opponents of the present South African régime had almost exhausted all the peaceful means at their disposal. The authorities had developed an unprecedented system of oppression, and mercilessly applied severe and arbitrary laws. The Committee's main conclusion, set forth in paragraph 106 of the report, was that effective and urgent international action was essential to avoid racial conflict in South Africa leading to grave international repercussions. Since 1960—the report continued—it had been recognized that the situation in South Africa constituted a menace to international peace and security and that effective measures were required to persuade the South African Government to abandon its policies. What in fact had been done to avoid those dangers? The report drew attention to numerous resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and by inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations. In addition, the report quoted statements by Governments and private individuals, the text of reports, and so on. But was all that enough? Were those resolutions adequate to meet the situation?

6. The Iranian delegation, which had always actively supported the resolutions of the General Assembly, considered that on the whole the measures so far taken to persuade the South African authorities to abandon apartheid had been just and wise. Nevertheless, the decisions adopted by the General Assembly had not produced the desired effect because the Powers which could effectively bring pressure to bear on the South African Government had not always co-operated and because insufficient attention had been given to finding practical ways of applying the measures decided upon. For that reason he was pleased to note that the Special Committee had stressed the need to concentrate on efficacy. It pointed out that the primary responsibility for the failure of the efforts of the United Nations must be borne by the major trading partners of South Africa, which had encouraged it to persist in its policy. In that connexion it was vitally necessary to cease the sale and shipment to South Africa of arms, ammunition and military equipment, as recommended in paragraph 155 of the report. In addition, all States should make a collective effort to apply the economic measures recommended by the

General Assembly and the Security Council. He supported the Special Committee's recommendation in that regard.

7. The other sections of the report and the corresponding recommendations gave grounds for a certain degree of optimism for the future. Assistance to the victims of racial discrimination was constantly increasing, and a tribute should be paid to the States and organizations that had made such generous contributions. It was to be hoped that voluntary aid would expand still further. Information on the dangers of apartheid was receiving greater publicity. It should be noted that the Third Committee had recommended the organization of a seminar on apartheid in 1966.<sup>1/</sup> That meeting should help to hasten a solution to the problem. The Special Committee's recommendations with regard to the work of inter-governmental and non-governmental organizations also deserved attention since they made an important contribution to strengthening international solidarity. In addition, he agreed with the Rapporteur that the composition of the Special Committee should be enlarged and that the necessary financial resources should be placed at its disposal.

8. As the Special Committee itself pointed out in paragraph 142 of its report, it was essential that the measures decided on should be universally applied. Co-ordinated action was the key to success. Its Chairman had pointed out that it was essential that the void created by the application of a commercial boycott by one country should not immediately be filled by others. In order to impose an effective embargo on South Africa, the problem must be tackled at the international rather than the national level. Otherwise, the decisions taken would have only a moral effect. That was, of course, important, but peoples whose fundamental rights were being flouted could not be expected to wait until moral pressure brought the South African authorities back to the path of realism and respect for human rights.

9. In conclusion, he praised the statement by the Chairman of the Special Committee. Mr. Achkar had said that the United Nations must take concrete action. Millions of suffering people looked to it as their only source of hope. On the twentieth anniversary of the Organization's existence, something must be done to allow history to run its normal course in South Africa. It was the duty of all Members to make a positive response.

The meeting rose at 4.10 p.m.

<sup>1/</sup> The recommendation was subsequently adopted as General Assembly resolution 2060 (XX).